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VOL. XIV

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SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF JUVENAL'S THIRD SATIRE

(Concluded from page 114)

Most effective, too, is Juvenal's description (190-222) of the dangers and hardships due to fires at Rome—hardships that the poor man in particular felt. In this connection, Gellius 15.1 is decidedly interesting. Gellius and some others were escorting the rhetorician Antonius Julianus to his home,

cum inde subeuntes Montem Cispium conspicimus insulam <apartment house> occupatam igni multis arduisque tabulatis editam et propinqua iam omnia flagrare vasto incendio. Tum quispiam ibi ex comitibus Iuliani "Magni" inquit "reditus urbanorum praediorum, sed pericula sunt longe maxima. Si quid autem posset remedii fore, ut ne tam adsidue domus Romae arderent, venum hercle dedissem res rusticas et urbicas emissem".

This outburst leads Julianus to tell his *comes* that, if he had read the nineteenth book of the *Annales* of Q. Quadrigarius,

docuisset te profecto Archelaus, regis Mithradati praefectus, qua medela quaque sollertia ignem defenderes, ut ne ulla aedificatio e ligno correpta atque insinuata flammis arderet.

In his note on verse 197, Mr. J. D. Lewis, author of a very sensible edition and translation of Juvenal, writes as follows: "Fires seem to have been more frequent at Rome than in New York". One cannot help thinking of what Dickens said, in his *American notes*, Chapter VI (he is speaking of his visit in 1842):

What is this intolerable tolling of great bells, and crashing of wheels, and shouting in the distance? A fire. And what is that deep red light in the opposite direction? Another fire. What are these charred and blackened walls we stand before? A dwelling where a fire has been. It was more than hinted in an official report, not long ago, that some of these conflagrations were not wholly accidental, and that speculation and enterprise found a field even in flame; but be this as it may, there was a fire last night, there are two to-night, and you may lay an even wager that there will be at least one to-morrow.

Later in the same chapter, still speaking of New York, Dickens says:

There are in New York excellent hospitals and schools, literary institutions and libraries; an admirable fire department (as indeed it should be, having constant practice). . . .

Dickens's caustic reference to the fires in New York City as not always accidental makes one think of Juvenal 220-222:

Meliora ac plura reponit
Persicus, orborum lautissimus, et merito iam
suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.

On this passage the editors frequently quote Martial 3.52:

Empta domus fuerat tibi, Tongiliane, ducentis:
abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens.
Collatum est decies. Rogo, non potes ipse videri
incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum?

I urge the reader to study again that splendid passage (232-267) in which Juvenal dwells on the dangers—involving even the danger of death—to which the poor man is exposed through the crowding of the streets of Rome. Let him dwell particularly on the picture, in verses 235-267, of the man who has been the victim of a breakdown of a wagon carrying the *saxa Ligustica*. In such a case, says Juvenal, always the carcass of the *vulgus*, crushed to atoms, perishes like a breath. Then come verses 261-267:

Domus interea secunda patellas
iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
strigibus et pleno componit lintea gutto.
Haec inter pueros varie properantur, at ille
iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret
porthmea nec sperat caenosi gurgitis alnum
infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

With the final line of this passage I connect now, in my thoughts, the closing passage of Swift, *Battle of the Books*:

So Boyle pursued, so fled this pair of friends. Finding at length their flight was vain, they bravely joined, and drew themselves in phalanx. First Bentley threw a spear with all his force, hoping to pierce the enemy's breast; but Pallas came unseen, and in the air took off the point, and clapped on one, of lead, which, after a dead bang against the enemy's shield, fell blunted to the ground. Then Boyle, observing well his time, took up a lance of wondrous length and sharpness; and, as this pair of friends compacted stood close side by side, he wheeled him to the right, and, with unusual force, darted the weapon. Bentley saw his fate approach, and flanking down his arms close to his ribs, hoping to save his body, in went the point, passing through arm and side, nor stopped nor spent its force, till it had also pierced the valiant Wotton, who, going to sustain his dying friend, shared his fate. As when a skilful cook has trussed a pair of woodcocks, he, with iron skewer, pierces the tender sides of both, their legs and wings close pinioned to the ribs, so was this pair of friends transfixed, till down they fell, joined in their lives, joined in their deaths, so closely joined, that Charon would mistake them both for one, and waft them over Styx for half his fare.

In verse 268, Juvenal turns to discuss the *pericula noctis*. Among these he lists the liability to insult at

the hands of some insolent aristocrat. But worse than this is the danger of foot-pads (302-304), or even from the *grassator* (305-308). To the situation Juvenal had in mind one can find endless parallels in writings which have to do with life in England or in Ireland in the eighteenth century. Compare, for example, what Dickens, in Chapter I of *A Tale of Two Cities*, has to say of life in England in 1775:

In England, there was scarcely an amount of order and protection to justify much national boasting. Daring burglaries by armed men, and highway robberies, took place in the capital itself every night; families were publicly cautioned not to go out of town without removing their furniture to upholsterers' warehouses for security; the highwayman in the dark was a City tradesman in the light, and, being recognized and challenged by his fellow-tradesman whom he stopped in his character of "the Captain" gallantly shot him through the head and rode away; the mail was waylaid by seven robbers, and the guard shot three dead; and then got shot dead himself by the other four, "in consequence of the failure of his ammunition", after which the mail was robbed in peace; that magnificent potentate, the Lord Mayor of London, was made to stand and deliver on Turnham Green, by one highwayman, who despoiled the illustrious creature in sight of all his retinue.

In Henry Esmond, Book III, Chapter XI, at the beginning, occurs the following passage:

Beatrice's departure took place within the hour, her maid going with her in the post-chaise, and a man armed on the coach-box to prevent any danger of the road. Esmond and Frank thought of escorting the carriage, but she indignantly refused their company, and another man was sent to follow the coach, and not to leave it till it had passed over Hounslow Heath on the next day.

In Henry Esmond again, Book II, Chapter V, near the end, there is a reference to the road from London to Chelsea as bad and "infested with footpads".

Two passages from Thackeray's novel, *Barry Lyndon Esq.*, are worth quoting here. One occurs in Chapter XIV:

After having witnessed the splendours of civilized life abroad, the sight of Dublin in the year 1771, when I returned thither, struck me with anything but respect. It was savage as Warsaw almost, without the regal grandeur of the latter city. The people looked more ragged than any race I have ever seen, except the gipsy hordes along the banks of the Danube. There was, as I have said, not an inn in the town fit for a gentleman of condition to dwell in. Those luckless fellows who could not keep a carriage and walked in the streets at night, ran imminent risks of the knives of the women and ruffians who lay in wait there,—of a set of ragged savage villains, who knew neither the use of shoe nor razor; and as a gentleman entered his chair or his chariot, to be carried to his evening rout, or the play, the flambeaux would light up such a set of wild gibbering Milesian faces as would frighten a genteel person of average nerves. I was luckily endowed with strong ones; besides, had seen my amiable countrymen before.

The other occurs in Chapter XVI:

I have said, in a former chapter of my biography, that the kingdom of Ireland was at this period ravaged by various parties of banditti; who, under the name of Whiteboys, Oakboys, Steelboys, with captains at their

head, killed proctors, fired stacks, houghed and maimed cattle, and took the law into their own hands.

For brigandage in ancient Italy, reference may be made to Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 208-213. For brigandage in modern Italy, reference may be made to Washington Irving, *Sketch Book*.

In conclusion, I copy, more fully, part of a paragraph from an essay of James Russell Lowell, *A Good Word for Winter*, to which I have already made reference, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 9.137:

... Indeed, it is only within a century or so that the search after the picturesque has been a safe employment. It is not so even now, in Greece or Southern Italy. Where the Anglo-Saxon carves his cold fowl, and leaves the relics of his picnic, the ancient or mediaeval man might be pretty confident that some ruffian would try the edge of his knife on a chicken of the Platonic sort, and leave more precious bones as an offering to the genius of the place. The ancients were certainly more social than we, though that, perhaps, was natural enough, when a good part of the world was still covered with forest. They huddled together in cities as well for safety as to keep their minds warm.

C. K.

AENEID 2.781 AND AENEID 3 AGAIN

Aeneas's Attitude Towards Visions

In an earlier paper¹, I expressed the belief that Aeneid 2. 781 is not necessarily inconsistent with Aeneid 3, because *Hesperia* in that line may be interpreted as meaning simply a Western land, not specifically Italy. It was also suggested in a note at the close that evidence of a different character may be found to reinforce this line of argument. Such evidence is to be sought in a consideration of Aeneas's attitude toward the various visions or manifestations that appear to him as messengers of the omnipotent and immutable fates.

These messengers are usually the gods, who themselves seem to bear much the same attitude towards the fates as Aeneas does in turn towards the gods. What the fates have willed, the gods cannot alter². But the gods at least know the fates. Man cannot know them without the interposition of the gods.

Thus the Trojans set out on their wanderings uncertain whither the fates will bear them³; and so, in their need of guidance they are driven along by the omens sent by the gods⁴—omens which they receive in constant succession throughout Book 3⁵. Never do they show the slightest hesitation about doing the gods' will, once it seems to be understood.

Just so, when Mercury comes to stir up Aeneas during his slothful delay in Carthage⁶, Aeneas deliberates not as to *whether* he will or will not obey, but merely *how* to obey⁷; and, fortified by his faith, he remains unshaken

¹See *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.209-212.

²Compare 10.464 ff., 471-472, 622 ff.; 11.584 ff.; 12.147 ff.

³3.7. ⁴3.5. Compare 5.56-57, and Mr. Glover's discussion of this passage in his *Virgil*, 218.

⁵See 3.26, 59-61, 89, 137 ff., 143-144, 148 ff.

⁶4.259 ff. ⁷4.283-286. Compare 281-282.

by Dido's successive pleas⁸, though his own personal suffering, as well as his pity for her, is obvious.

In his relations with his goddess-mother, Aeneas exhibits similar docility. We note this in the first description of a meeting between the two as soon as she has definitely revealed herself to him⁹. Venus envelops him in a mist¹⁰, which, when Dido's kindly intentions have been made manifest to him, he very much desires to break¹¹, and his faithful companion Achates urges him so to do¹². But Aeneas resolutely remains passive until the mist cleaves of its own accord—in other words, through the instrumentality of the goddess¹³, as is proved by her further 'present aid' in shedding new beauty over his person¹⁴. This whole scene is, of course, distinctly reminiscent of the corresponding one in *Odyssey* 7; but in the older epic there is no similar suppressed desire on the part of the hero, who acts as soon as he feels the impulse to do so:

and Odysseus cast his hands about the knees of Arete, and then it was that the wondrous mist melted off him¹⁵.

Venus likewise intervenes during the night of the fall of Troy, when, appearing to her son at once in her true person this time¹⁶—for there is no time to spare—she prevents his slaying Helen, and conveys him to his own home¹⁷, quelling the madness which he displays on this, the one occasion¹⁸ when he actually loses control of himself¹⁹.

In general, Aeneas is represented as a very deliberate person, ever "this way and that dividing the swift mind"²⁰, and rather lacking in initiative unless some deity supplies him with it²¹; but, when he is really convinced of what the gods have willed in his case, then he unfailingly and promptly obeys.

But—mark this!—it must be the *gods* who have so willed it; and he must be *convinced* that they have. Even the nymph Cymodoce, when she appears to him to utter a prediction and a warning²², has no immediate effect upon him. He merely is amazed, bewildered²³. He does, it is true, ultimately act upon her advice; but this does not involve any change in his plans, only an additional wariness; and, besides, he knows that there is something really divine about Cymodoce and her companion nymphs, once the ships that the great mother of the gods herself had gladly given him²⁴.

In the same way, Aeneas submits himself without hesitation to the guidance of the Sibyl²⁵ because he knows that she is indubitably inspired by Apollo. And he likewise consults Helenus, who, though a mere mortal, is still a seer, the interpreter of the gods²⁶.

But in general, it is as Mr. Glover says²⁷:

He does not take mandates except from the gods. Yet he is not unwilling to listen to advice from Anchises or Nautes, from the old and the trusted.

Anchises, of course, is not quite like any other man. To him, the wise and aged father, Aeneas owes the same sort of *pietas*—reverence and obedience—as he does to the gods. All through the perilous and momentous cruises on unknown seas, Anchises's control, despite the earlier statement that he will follow his son's guidance, is supreme and unquestioned²⁸.

To Anchises there is no successor. No other *man* could take his place²⁹. Aeneas himself assumes his father's task of interpreting the omens, as he does, for instance, on the occasion of the 'table-eating' in Latium³⁰. Even now, Anchises's influence still prevails; it is one of Anchises's predictions that Aeneas recalls³¹. But none the less Aeneas is not so firm and fearless in his decisions as his father had been before him; he orders libations to Jupiter and prayers to Anchises³², and is doubtless much relieved at having his interpretation confirmed by an unmistakable sign direct from Jove³³.

In another moment of perplexity, Aeneas is determined in his course by a vision of Anchises³⁴. It is on this occasion that Aeneas had listened to the advice of old Nautes, referred to by Mr. Glover³⁵; but this author, despite his customary sagacity, seems wrong in classing the counsels of Nautes with those of Anchises. Aeneas has by no means determined to act upon the former's suggestions, but on the contrary is vexed by many conflicting anxieties³⁶, until Anchises appears to him to bid him obey Nautes's excellent counsels³⁷.

If, then, Anchises is the only mortal whom Aeneas unquestionably and invariably obeys, is it to be expected that he should implicitly follow the counsels of Creusa? But, to be sure, her appearance to her husband is not a mere visit from a simple flesh-and-blood woman: it is a vision of some one at least half divine³⁸. And this fact necessitates a study of the treatment regularly accorded in the *Aeneid* to visions and other peculiar manifestations of the unseen powers.

In the first place, there are certain signs that are indubitably from the gods, because there can be no other conceivable origin for them. Such are, for instance, the bleeding and the speech of a plant³⁹, the thunder-bolt⁴⁰ that none but Jupiter⁴¹ (or, on one special occasion, his favored daughter⁴²) can hurl, the oracles that Apollo inspired⁴³, and the pestilence that he

⁸4.305 ff., 365 ff., etc.

⁹1.402 ff. He had already revealed some doubts, as to her identity—327 and 372.

¹⁰1.411 ff. ¹¹1.579–581. ¹²1.582 ff. ¹³1.587. ¹⁴588 ff.

¹⁵*Odyssey* 7. 142–143. The quotation is from the translation of Butcher and Lang. The italics are mine.

¹⁶2.597. ¹⁷2.589 ff. ¹⁸For we cannot count his frenzied orgies of slaughter in the later books. These are introduced by Vergil as part of the epic convention established by Homer, and are quite out of keeping with the hero's own character.

¹⁹2.575 ff. Compare 2.314. ²⁰Tennyson's apt paraphrase (*The Passing of Arthur*, 228) of 4.285, repeated 8.20. ²¹As Venus does in 12.554 ff.

²²10.225 ff. ²³10.249. ²⁴9.88–89. ²⁵Book 6, *passim*. ²⁶3.359–361:

²⁷Vergil³, 228.

²⁸The very first order recorded in Book 3 (line 9) is his. Compare also 3.58, 102 ff., 610 f.

²⁹It may be observed that practically the first thing Aeneas does after losing his father is to get into mischief. We cannot but feel that the trouble at Carthage would never have occurred had Anchises been alive. As it is, the gods have to intervene.

³⁰7.120 ff.

³¹7.122 ff. Of course this is more or less inconsistent with 3.255 ff.

³²7.133–134. ³³7.141 ff. ³⁴5.718 ff. ³⁵Vergil³, 228.

³⁶5.719–720. ³⁷5.728–729. ³⁸2.788. ³⁹3.27 ff.

⁴⁰2.693; 7.141–142. ⁴¹Even the wisest men—the Stoics—of a later and more enlightened age, shared Aeneas's view here. Compare e. g. Horace, *Carm.* 1.34.

⁴²8.523.

⁴³3.84 ff.; 6.77 ff.

sends⁴⁴: all these things are unfailing omens, which the Trojans follow as a matter of course. But it should be noted that none of these tokens is a vision in any sense of the word.

A vision is something that *seems to be seen*—for I believe the passive *videtur* or *visus est* so commonly used in this connection unites both its fundamental meanings. It does not appear to make much difference whether the person who does the seeing is asleep or awake. When the shade of Creusa presents itself to Aeneas⁴⁵ while he is in the act of energetically searching for her, he is presumably wide awake. On the other hand, we are explicitly told that Aeneas is asleep on the occasion of Hector's appearance⁴⁶, of Anchises's⁴⁷, of the pseudo-Mercury's⁴⁸, and of the Tiber's⁴⁹. The epiphany of the Penates presents a somewhat different and difficult problem. They are introduced as appearing to Aeneas in his slumbers⁵⁰, like so many of the other visions; but later on it is expressly said⁵¹ that *nec sopor illud erat*. But the seeming contradiction merely, I think, serves to heighten the appropriately unreal and mystic atmosphere. Conington says⁵², "The truth seems to be that we have here a mixture of dream and vision"; but I should rather put it that there is really no differentiation between dream and vision⁵³. The two seem to be described indifferently⁵⁴—perhaps as a result of conscious desire on Vergil's part to reflect the old primitive view that the events of sleep are as real as those of our waking periods. And so, in dealing here with the question of these miraculous appearances, I shall not try to distinguish the two phenomena that Conington describes by the words "dream" and "vision" respectively.

Now, in every instance of these apparitions, there is the danger that the vision or the dream may be not a true guide, but one of those deluding, misleading figures the existence of which is several times referred to in the course of the Aeneid⁵⁵. The vision of the false Calybe (in reality Allecto) to Turnus⁵⁶, though she does reveal herself in the end, perhaps comes under this head; still more that of Somnus to Palinurus⁵⁷. Palinurus himself is on guard, and asks distrustfully⁵⁸, *Mene huic confidere monstro*⁵⁹—a thoroughly proper attitude in the face of anything so dubious and fleeting as a phantom.

This attitude is Aeneas's own. He obeys no vision without due deliberation and additional proof. The god of the Tiber, on the occasion of his apparition to Aeneas, realizes the need for such caution, and, lest Aeneas think these events the empty figments of a

dream⁶⁰, pledges tangible proof of his reliability in the shape of the white sow with thirty young which Aeneas actually does come across very shortly indeed⁶¹. The Tiber likewise carries out another promise⁶²: he flows backward, gently bearing the Trojan's craft upon his bosom⁶³.

Similarly in the appearance of the Penates, aside from the fact that Anchises at once acknowledges the truth of the vision⁶⁴, thereby decisively absolving Aeneas from any further responsibility in the matter, additional confirmation is supplied by Anchises's recollection that Cassandra had made the self-same prophecy. She, too, like the Penates, had used both names, *Hesperia* and *Italia*⁶⁵. There can be no more doubt in the matter.

Again, the second visit of Mercury to Aeneas in Carthage is, unlike the first, nothing but a vision. In fact, it is really not Mercury himself who comes, but a mere phantom of the god resembling him in appearance and expression⁶⁶. However, there is no reason to question the desirability of obeying this manifestation. He is not bidding Aeneas alter his plans in the least, but is merely reiterating, in a more urgent form, the commands that Mercury himself—*deus certe*—no mere vision, but the actual divinity, direct from the side of Jove, had already impressed upon him. Aeneas does not doubt for a moment⁶⁷ the identity of his visitor, whose orders he proceeds promptly to put into effect.

The original visit of Mercury had probably served to prepare Aeneas for the vision of his father, who every night visits him in his dreams to utter the same words of warning⁶⁸. Here, again, we have a dream figure—this time a man, though a particularly reverend one—seeking simply to repeat and stress commands known to be trustworthy, since they originally were issued by a manifest deity.

Anchises appears on a second occasion to Aeneas, and this time seems to influence him decisively⁶⁹. It is at the moment of Aeneas's perplexity and distress after the burning of the ships by the women. Anchises tells his son to follow Nautes's suggestion, that is, to leave the weaker members of the party behind under Acestes, and then, with a chosen band of sturdy spirits, to set sail for Italy. Aeneas promptly complies. Of course, while Anchises lived, his pious son had yielded him the same obedience as he did to the gods, and—apart from him—to the gods alone; but it is quite safe to repose such confidence in a shadowy phantom that vanishes into thin air⁷⁰? On the whole, yes. In the first place, the ghostly visitant says that he comes by the command of Jove⁷¹; it would take a pretty bold impostor to make such an assertion; Aeneas believes and repeats it⁷². Again, Anchises is offering a piece of advice that is not new to Aeneas. His own heart and mind must both alike be urging him to Italy. Nautes had already given

⁴⁴3.137 ff. Compare our introduction to Apollo in the Iliad (1.44 ff.), and Achilles's unhesitating assumption that it must be by Apollo that the plague is inflicted (1.64).

⁴⁵2.772. ⁴⁶2.270-271. ⁴⁷4.351-353. ⁴⁸4.554-557. ⁴⁹8.29-33. ⁵⁰3.150-151. ⁵¹3.173. ⁵²On 3.151.

⁵³Conington himself points out (*ibid.*) that the word *visi* (in 3.150) is applicable to both. We may compare its use in the same passage, 3.172 and 174, and also in 2.371, 773; 4.557; 5.722; 8.33.

⁵⁴Thus we cannot be sure whether Aeneas is asleep or awake at the time of Anchises's appearance (5.722-723). It is night (compare 721); but the hero may have been spending the night in anxious vigil (compare 720).

⁵⁵Compare 6.806; 10.642. ⁵⁶7.415 ff. ⁵⁷5.838 ff. ⁵⁸5.849. ⁵⁹*Monstro* may mean the sea, as Conington says; but I cannot help feeling that there is at least a secondary reference to the prodigy confronting him.

⁶⁰8.42 ff. ⁶¹8.81 ff. ⁶²Made in 8.57-58. ⁶³8.86 ff.

⁶⁴3.180. ⁶⁵3.182-185.

⁶⁶4.556-559.

⁶⁷His expression, *sancle decorum, quisquis es* (4.576-577), is probably, as Conington says, simply a stock formula of reverence.

⁶⁸351-353. Compare 6.695-696.

⁶⁹5.721 ff. ⁷⁰5.740. ⁷¹5.726. ⁷²5.747.

him the counsel; and Nautes, old⁷³, friendly⁷⁴, privileged to represent Pallas herself⁷⁵, is no mean counsellor. He, as only a fellow-man (for he is not speaking by divine authority here), is not necessarily to be obeyed⁷⁶, but he is to be trusted and respected. Besides, Anchises is confirming a greater than Nautes—Helenus,—who, in his capacity of seer⁷⁷, had already advised Aeneas to consult the Cumaean Sibyl⁷⁸ even as Anchises now does⁷⁹. Aeneas shows his confidence in the vision in this connection also; for, when he does reach the Sibyl, he asks her to lead him down to Avernus⁸⁰: Helenus had not suggested this, only Anchises⁸¹.

But there is one vision—a vision of a mere fellow-mortal—which Aeneas does not obey or regard; and this I purpose to discuss in some detail, as offering the best parallel to the Creusa incident. This is the vision of Hector, which appears to Aeneas at the beginning of that fatal night pictured in Book 2, and bids him flee⁸².

There is no mistaking the will of Hector. And as soon as Aeneas is thoroughly roused⁸³, he receives indisputable evidence, by the testimony of his own ears⁸⁴ and his own eyes⁸⁵, of the truth of Hector's words. Yet his first instinct—as indeed that of a brave warrior would naturally be—is toward defence, not flight. He does not seem to recall the vision of Hector—recent though it was and impressive though it must have been—even when he sees Panthus coming⁸⁶ with the very images that Hector had bidden him save⁸⁷. On the contrary, he asks Panthus for advice as to what is to be done—and asks in a way that implies his belief that this action can involve fighting alone⁸⁸. Panthus's answer is not encouraging, and Aeneas drifts rather aimlessly along where the fortune of battle calls him⁸⁹, until finally the shouts issuing from those massed around Priam's palace draw him thither⁹⁰. Here Aeneas assists at the most bitter struggle, and at the most poignant scene—the death of Priam, foully slain in the presence of his wife while he was a suppliant at the altar⁹¹.

Up to this moment of climax, Aeneas has perhaps been mad⁹²; but, if the earlier shock served to banish his reason, this still greater one serves quite as effectually to restore it. Aeneas in his horror now for the first time⁹³ realizes all. He remembers his dear, helpless father; he remembers Creusa, whom he has forsaken; he remembers his home, perhaps the scene of a similar orgy of frightfulness; he remembers his little Iulus. Yet he does not remember—or at least he gives no sign of remembering—that strange, true dream that should assuredly, one would think, be fresh in his consciousness—does not recall it even with that vision of responsibility to the future that the thought of Iulus must surely bring to him.

He is quite sane now. His customary habits of deliberation have returned; he looks around and considers the forces about him⁹⁴. But he does not turn toward home until Venus appears, commands him to take thought for his loved ones, and presents before his eyes, temporarily rendered clairvoyant, unquestionable evidence that nothing is left for him but flight, since the great gods themselves have so willed it⁹⁵.

That soul-shaking spectacle of Neptune and Juno and Pallas and the father-god himself, in all their rage and in all their might, of course convinces Aeneas. He proceeds to obey his mother. But she merely bids him flee from the immediate stress and strain of battle, and rescue his family⁹⁶. Her thoughts center in getting him safely to his own threshold⁹⁷, and go no further. As we should expect, Venus is concerned only for her son's safety and happiness, not for his duty. It was Hector alone who thought of the great mission that yet awaited him.

It is Venus, not Hector, that Aeneas obeys. He wishes merely to save his father, to carry him to the security of some mountain fastness⁹⁸. But his father refuses to go. Aeneas, of course, is in despair. In the face of his father's stubborn resolution, with Creusa and Ascanius and the whole household weeping beside him, he has an awful choice to make. But it is *not* a choice between his father and the gods. If it were, surely he would sacrifice the man, as later he does sacrifice a woman—Dido. To abandon his father, to be sure, would involve a more severe strain on his *pietas*; yet we cannot doubt that the still loftier *pietas* would prevail. But it is not a question of that. Venus has sent him merely to his own home; he has fulfilled her commands; and as for Hector's talk of the Penates, he does not refer to that at all. Yet he *must* think of it now. Tense though the moment is, this is preeminently a time not for emotion, but for reason. Anchises is an essentially reasonable being. He speaks calmly and argumentatively⁹⁹. Aeneas might have cited the authority of Hector in reply; but instead of this he merely refers to his mother¹⁰⁰—and he does so in a tone which implies that he has practically given up hope of prevailing upon his obdurate father. The name of Venus is scarcely one to conjure with, I fancy, where Anchises is concerned.

Anchises is persuaded in the end, of course. But it is by the prodigy of the flame that plays around Iulus¹⁰¹, and then—still surer sign—the thunder-bolt¹⁰², that the task of winning him over is accomplished¹⁰³. The words of Hector have played no part in producing this effect. Why does not Aeneas repeat them to his father, if not as a means of influencing him, at least as a subject for his interpretation?

The answer to this question, whatever it is, must, I think, also serve as an answer for the parallel question:

⁷³5.704. ⁷⁴5.719. ⁷⁵5.704 ff. ⁷⁶Compare above, note 35.
⁷⁷3.358. ⁷⁸3.441 ff. ⁷⁹5.735 ff. ⁸⁰6.105 ff. ⁸¹5.736.
⁸²2.289 ff. ⁸³2.302. ⁸⁴2.301. ⁸⁵2.310 ff. ⁸⁶2.318 ff.
⁸⁷2.293. Surely Conington is wrong in his view (expressed on 2.296) that Hector is represented as actually bringing forth the images of the gods, not merely as appearing to do so. Aeneas does not awaken until after that (2.302); and it must be from Panthus (if not still later) that he receives the objects which are to become his sacred trust. ⁸⁸2.322. ⁸⁹2.337-338. ⁹⁰2.437.
⁹¹2.506 ff. ⁹²Compare 2.314. ⁹³2.559.

⁹⁴2.564. ⁹⁵2.589 ff. ⁹⁶2.596-598. ⁹⁷2.619-620.
⁹⁸2.635-636. ⁹⁹2.641-642. ¹⁰⁰2.664-665.
¹⁰¹2.680 ff. ¹⁰²2.692 ff. Compare 2.691 and 703.
¹⁰³As a result, Anchises is now as eager to set out as Aeneas himself. Compare 2.701.

Why through Book 3 does Aeneas nowhere refer to Creusa's prediction concerning Hesperia? Both visions might well control his plans; both might well be referred to Anchises for consideration or explanation. Aeneas can have forgotten the one no more than the other. In the one case, to be sure, we may beg the question—not illegitimately—by a plea of inconsistency; but hardly in the other. Conington may readily, and even unanswerably, question the homogeneity of Book 3 with those which precede and follow; but internal unity surely characterizes the separate books¹⁰⁴, and the second, I think, more than any of the others¹⁰⁵. The possible omission of the Helen passage, even of the Laocoön passage, has been suggested, but never, so far as I know, of the Hector passage. And while we preserve this, and do not worry over its being incompatible with the immediately ensuing scenes, we need not, I think, be seriously troubled by any supposed inconsistency between the Creusa incident and Book 3.

The explanation in both cases is, I believe, the same. Just as Aeneas in real, flesh-and-blood affairs obeys gods, but not men (always, of course, excepting the special case of his father), even so he obeys the visions of gods (provided he is assured they are true), but not those of human beings¹⁰⁶, even though those beings are half-sanctified by death or by a mystic state that is not unlike death. Thus, at the close of Book 2, when Anchises is actually seeking for guidance from the omnipotent father¹⁰⁷, Aeneas does not think of putting forward his visit from Hector as a possible source of suggestion or enlightenment. And just so, all through Book 3, while the Trojans are similarly appealing for direction to divine sources such as seer and shrine, Aeneas does not offer Creusa's prophecy as promising to be of any avail. He does not mention it even when the final revelation comes and the Penates have made all clear. It would be natural then, perhaps, especially when Anchises is recalling the pertinent predictions of Cassandra¹⁰⁸, for Aeneas to refer to the not irrelevant words of Creusa. But then this would scarcely be in keeping with his usual pious custom of leaving the interpretation of all supernatural matters exclusively to Anchises. Moreover, Cassandra has been proved a true prophet in other respects¹⁰⁹, while Creusa has not. And, besides, while Cassandra has clinched the matter (though the Trojans had paid no attention at the time) by calling the country to be sought by its two names, Hesperia and the kingdom of Italy¹¹⁰, thereby removing all danger of ambiguity, Creusa had not. She had said merely *Hesperia*—a term (to my mind) not necessarily distinctive¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁴To be sure, we notice plenty of discrepancies in Book 6; but these may be explained as being due not to inadvertent lapses, but to Vergil's desire to include various contradictory theories, or even to the existence of distinct versions between which, as Norden believes, the poet would have chosen. The subject-matter of Book 6 would tend to militate against strict logic, but not that of Book 2, a simple straightforward narrative.

¹⁰⁵Except, perhaps, Book 4.

¹⁰⁶The conduct of other characters in the Aeneid when confronted by visions seems on the whole fairly consistent with that of the hero.

¹⁰⁷2.691.

¹⁰⁸3.183-187.

¹⁰⁹Compare 2.246-247.

¹¹⁰3.185.

¹¹¹See my former paper, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 13.209-212.

In short, the vision of Creusa, as that of a mere mortal, would not in itself (according to Aeneas's ordinary practice) serve to attract much attention. Her special words in regard to the land destined for the Trojans, being couched in terms that might readily be interpreted as more or less vague and general, would likewise fail to appear especially significant. And consequently we need not sacrifice (nor need we believe that Vergil would have sacrificed) either the third book or an episode which, though Aeneas himself at the time may not have attached to it any grave importance, yet, it seems to me, for reasons set forth at the beginning of my earlier paper¹¹¹, it is particularly vital and desirable to retain.

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL LANGUAGES, HUNTER COLLEGE

E. ADELAIDE HAHN.

Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

- American Architect—Jan. 12, Roman Aqueduct, Tarragona [full page illustration of remains of fine Roman aqueduct].
- American Catholic Review Quarterly—Apr., Hellenism and the Jews in the Three Centuries Preceding Christianity, J. Simon.
- American Historical Review.—Jan., Tenney Frank, An Economic History of Rome (F. F. Abbott).
- Athenaeum—Dec. 10, Horace in English, V. R. = (F. Coultts and W. H. Pollock, Icarian Flights: Translations of Some of the Odes of Horace; L. L. Shadwell, The Odes of Horace Translated into English Verse; H. D. Ellis, English Verse Translations of Selections from the Odes of Horace, the Epigrams of Martial, and other Writers) ["The best solution of the difficulty of translating Horace is not to attempt a strict translation at all, but a paraphrase which, keeping all the Horatian ideas, finds room to develop them"].—Dec. 17, Back to Aristotle = T. S. Eliot, The Sacred Wood (L. W.) [compliments Mr. Eliot on the fact that his method in literary criticism has much in common with the method of Aristotle's Poetics]; Marjorie M. Crump, The Growth of the Aeneid (H. F. F.) [This book deals with the question of the original order of the books and other problems of the composition of the Aeneid; "Thorough and sane"].—Dec. 24, (P. Colum, The Children's Homer. Illustrated by W. Pogany [the story of the Iliad and the Odyssey retold for children].—Dec. 31, Classical Translations, F. L. L. (L. Ellis, Agamemnon; P. Claudel, Les Choéphores d'Eschyle; R. Aldington, The Poems of Meleager of Gadara; E. Storer, The Windflowers of Asklepiades, and the Poems of Poseidippos; A. Lothair, The Golden Treasury of the Greeks; V. Stebbing, Some Masterpieces of Latin Poetry).
- Burlington Magazine—Nov. 15, J. D. Beazley, The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems (W. L.) ["best arranged catalogue we have so far read"; "the reproductions are remarkably clear"].
- Catholic Educational Review—Oct., The Inductive and Direct Methods of Teaching Latin, R. J. Deferrari.
- Contemporary Review—Dec., I. Bywater, Aristotle's Poetics [with Introduction, by Gilbert Murray, who believes that Aristotle took up the challenge which Plato had thrown down in his denunciation of poetry].
- Deutsche Rundschau—Oct., Die Götter Homers, T. Birt.

Freeman—Nov. 17, In the Classical Cemetery IV. The Man Who Took his Wife Back.—Dec. 1, In the Classical Cemetery V. The Man Who Changed his Mind.—Dec. 15, In the Classical Cemetery VI. The Wives of Hen-pecked Husbands.—Dec. 29, In the Classical Cemetery VII. The Hamlet Who Did.—Jan. 8, In the Classical Cemetery VIII. The She-Devil [all these articles are discussions, in journalistic vein, of the characters of Euripides's dramas, by A. Harvey].

History—Oct., Some Recent Books on Roman History, N. H. Baynes.

Historical Outlook—Nov., The Cult of the Dead in Ancient Egypt, Anna L. Holbrook.

International Studio—Dec., The Revival of Athletic Sculpture, E. N. Gardiner [a description of the modern athletic sculpture of R. T. McKenzie with reference to its Greek prototype. Illustrated].

Mercury (London)—Nov., Ecloga Virgiliana, J. D. C. Pellow [poem]; The Swan Song [J. Bull and H. Jenner discuss the age and origin of the Latin poem *Cygnus Expirans*].—Jan., Bibliographies of Modern Authors: Gilbert Murray [a bibliographical list of the works of the Oxford Hellenist].

Methodist Quarterly Review—Oct., The Apocalypse, R. B. Steele.

Nation (London)—Nov. 13, (R. C. Trevelyan, Translations from Lucretius) ["successful"].—Dec. 11, On True Self-Determination [Socratic dialogue up-to-date].

New Statesman—Oct. 30, Books in General, Affable Hawk [Science vs. the Classics; "the first drawback to classical education is that . . . it does little to train our judgment. The second is that it turns away the attention . . . from the truth that our existence . . . depends on the knowledge and conquest of nature"].—Nov. 6, Classics versus Science [correspondence from various hands ridiculing the remarks of Affable Hawk in the previous issue].—Nov. 20, The Nonsense about the Classics [correspondence from several hands in Science vs. Classics controversy].—Dec. 4, Some Optimism, and a Suggestion = (W. Stebbing, Some Masterpieces of Latin Poetry) ["He is only one of a number of bad translators of the Classics who have recently appeared". The reviewer sees a hopeful sign in the demand for the Classics even in inferior translations].—Dec. 18, (Q. Horati Flacci Carminum Liber Quintus, etc.) [see note under Spectator, Dec. 4].

Poetry—Dec., Hellenics, W. Bryher [poems on Aphrodite and Eos].

Review of Reviews—Jan., A New Greek Review [includes a note on the reports of the discoveries of M. Cabbadias at Epidaurus, 1916-1918].

Scientia—Dec. 1, H. G. Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World from Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome (P. Masson-Oursel) ["has done a difficult and useful labor well"].

Scientific Monthly.—October, 1919-March, 1920, The Origins of Civilization, I-VI, J. H. Breasted.

Semicentenary Celebration of the University of California—The Earliest Internationalism, J. H. Breasted.

Sewanee Review—Oct., Business and Politics at Carthage, B. W. Wells.

South Atlantic Quarterly—Attila in History and Heroic Story, Elizabeth Nitchie.

Spectator—Nov. 20, Architecture = (L. Warren, The Foundations of Classic Architecture) ["somewhat statistical, text-bookish and underillustrated, it is nevertheless vitalized by such a critical enthusiasm that it may be read . . . with keen interest"]; From the Greek Anthology: The Minor Poet (Lucilius); The Doctor (Niharchus) [in the meters of the originals].—Dec. 4, Horace Odes Book Five = (Q. Horati Flacci Carminum Liber Quintum a Rudyardo Kipling et Carolo Graves Anglice Redditum Edidit A.D. Godley) [evidently a labored parody of the usual text of Horace with praefatio, apparatus criticus, and Latin odes by Godley, and English versions by Kipling and Graves].

United States Naval Institute, Proceedings 46.1925-1939 (1920)—Admiral Nearchos, Captain C. Q. Wright, Corps of Chaplains, U.S.N. [a description of Nearchos's cruises under the orders of Alexander the Great].

University of Pennsylvania Law Review—Nov., The Edict of Diocletian Fixing Maximum Prices, R. G. Kent.

Weekly Review—Dec. 1, Sappho in Translation and Paraphrase = (H. T. Wharton, Sappho) [a reprint of Wharton's Sappho, not the latest edition, with some new paraphrases by Anne Bunner].

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

WILLIAM STUART MESSER.

LATIN AND GREEK IN MISSISSIPPI

The Classics have always been strongly favored in Mississippi. When the University of Mississippi was opened, in 1848, the first professor chosen was Dr. Waddell, who held the chair of the Classics. The University has never given an A.B. degree that did not include both the classical languages. To-day its requirement for the degree, in addition to other courses which need not be enumerated, is six session hours of any two of the following subjects: Greek, Latin, Mathematics. About 20 per cent. of the students in the Academic Department here are taking or have taken one or both of the classical languages.

The complete figures for the other Colleges in this State have not reached me, but one of the denominational Colleges with a relatively small student body has over fifty students in Greek.

A most encouraging condition exists with reference to the teaching of Latin in the High Schools of the State to-day. This subject is optional in most of the Schools in the State, but, in spite of that fact, it stands fourth on the list of subjects taught in respect to attendance in the High Schools of the State, according to a report just issued by the State Supervisor of Secondary Schools, Mr. H. M. Ivy (Bulletin No. 18, 1920, Department of Education, Jackson, Miss). There are 159 accredited High Schools in the State; Mr. Ivy has reports from 145 of them. 16,017 students are studying English in 145 Schools, 11,682 History, in 138 Schools, 9,604 Algebra, in 150 Schools, and 6,078 Latin, in 130 Schools. The next subject is General Science, with 3,884, in 127 Schools. Three additional foreign languages are taught in the Schools of the State: Greek, French, and Spanish. The total enrollment in these three subjects is 1,732.

Some of these Schools offer only three years of Latin, and in a few only two years are given; but most are standard High Schools with four years of Latin, periods of forty minutes, and a session of normal length.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI. ALEXANDER L. BONDURANT.

THE CLASSICAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The 153d meeting of The Classical Club of Philadelphia was held on Friday, January 7, with 28 members present. The paper of the evening, read by Mr. W. S. Eldridge, of the West Philadelphia High School, was entitled *De Natura Caprorum*. Mr. Eldridge had thoroughly searched classical literature for allusions to goats. These allusions he presented and discussed, in a paper sparkling with wit, under the headings, Jupiter and Goats; Juno and Goats; Venus and Goats; Capri; Bacchus and Goats; The Goat and Tragedy; Goat Creatures.

B. W. MITCHELL, *Secretary*.

SCHOLARSHIPS OF THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The New York Classical Club has just announced the results of its last Scholarship examinations, held on Saturday, January 8.

The Club awards four scholarships yearly, two in Latin, of \$150 each, and two in Greek, of \$75 each. The competition for these scholarships is open to all students of the public High Schools of New York City. Their purpose is to encourage and assist the promising High School graduate to continue his or her studies through a College course. The examinations are held in January and June of each year, i. e. toward the close of each High School term.

On January 8 fourteen girls and seven boys competed for the Latin scholarship. Hunter College High School furnished nine candidates, Wadleigh High School four, Eastern District High School three, and DeWitt Clinton, Morris, Boys', Erasmus Hall, and Newtown High Schools sent one each.

The winner was Israel E. Drabkin, of the Morris High School, with a grade of 94 per cent. Mabel E. Burke, of Hunter College High School, was second. Nine candidates in all obtained grades of 80 per cent. or over, although the examination was far more difficult than the average College entrance examination.

In the Greek competition five boys were entered, three from Erasmus Hall High School, one from the Eastern District High School, and one from the Boys' High School. The scholarship was awarded to Jacob Schachnowitz, of the Eastern District High School, who received a grade of 91 per cent.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. CARLETON L. BROWNSON,
Chairman, Scholarship Committee.

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The Classical Forum

A meeting of The Classical Forum of The New York Classical Club was held on December 11, at Barnard College, to discuss the Preliminary Report issued last summer by the Committee on the Junior High School Syllabus of Latin for New York State. The Chairman

of the Forum, Professor Lodge, of Teachers College, in his opening address, in which he reviewed the course of criticism of elementary Latin teaching during the last fifty years, defined this Report on the Syllabus as the latest phase of the contention that it is of highest importance to stress the connection of Latin with English, a contention which, he said, had for a long time failed to command the following it merited.

Discussion of the Report made it clear that in the audience there existed strong disapproval of the trend of the findings of the Committee. Many persons took part in the discussion; the debate was far more lively than it usually is. The objections urged against the Report were, that the Committee was not sufficiently representative; that the Report reflects too much the views of one person; that the methods of word-study which are recommended are difficult in application and require much time; and that an unintended assault is made on the status of Latin when it is maintained that knowledge of the language should not be an end in itself in the High School work, but that Latin is valuable only for certain cultural and practical by-products.

Dr. Thomas H. Briggs, Associate Professor of Secondary Education in Teachers College, a member of the Syllabus Committee, was present, and made a friendly and temperate reply to the adverse criticism.

SUSAN FOWLER, *Censor*.

SENI IUVENI

Decano Artis Chirurgicae Illustrissimo

Annis LXXXIV Feliciter Peractis

S. P. D.

Io. Carew Rolfe

Fortunate senex, cui tot labentibus annis
gloria contingit invidiaeque nihil!
Labentem patriam defendebas adulescens,
ecce senex iterum fortis ad arma ruis.
Summus et in summis artem exerceas medicinam,
orbem per totum gloria te sequitur.
Artis notitiam studiosis et docuisti;
augent ingenium scriptaque notitiam.
Cunctis discipulos terris numerare licebit,
omnibus et gratos te numerare locis.
Humanumque putas alienum a te nihil esse;
urbanis studiis messis adest decoris.
Ingenium tibi corque seni iuvenalia semper;
de te praedantur tempora avara nihil.
Complures videas annos vigeasque per omnes;
sis iuvenis semper auspiciisque bonis!¹

¹These verses were written to go into a volume of tributes to be given to Dr. W. W. Keen, to be presented to him at a dinner given in his honor on January 20 (his eighty-fourth birthday!). Dr. Keen has been a practising physician in Philadelphia since 1866. He taught also in various Medical Schools and Colleges. He was Assistant Surgeon, Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, 1861, Acting Assistant Surgeon, United States Army, 1862-1864, and Major in the Medical Corps, United States Army, in the Great War. He was also President of the American Philosophical Society, 1907-1917. He has written much on medicine and surgery. C. K.